1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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ground for the first time, though that ceremony is sometimes observed as early as during the three-month festival. Until the ceremony has been performed the child has to be carried at all times. That the 'birthday' ceremonies also have the function of granting vitality and averting danger is clear from various details. The following incantation sometimes accompanies the presentation of one of the offerings:

> May your life wax strong: may your bones be of iron, your muscles of wire, your skin of copper, your blood bitter, until a stick can be worn down to [the thickness of] a leaf-vein, aye, until the ducks have cock's spurs, the large rice-blocks have branches, and the small rice-blocks buds, until the quails have tails [expressions like the Western 'on the Greek calends']. Everybody, even the red ants, will come to your aid. May you be healthy to the core and very prosperous.

The mother may also take a banana flower in her arms like a baby while the father holds a blowpipe filled with thin Chinese coins in his hand. The mother then gives away the flower with the words: "May I have my child now? Take this money hanging on the blowpipe in exchange for it."[16]

(*e*) The first menstruation. This event is often made into an important celebration, especially in the upper classes.

(*f*) The filing of the teeth, also especially in the upper classes. This ceremony usually takes place as the young person approaches maturity.

Other ceremonies may accompany the falling-off of the remainder of the umbilical cord, the cutting of the first tooth, the piercing of the ears, the second and following 'birthdays', the first permanent tooth.

In a Balinese folk tale the 'birthday', the filing of the teeth, and the 'feast of the third month' are characterized as 'major rites involved in the process of becoming completely human'.[17] One aspect of that process is a gradual liberation from the sphere of the divine. A child in its first years of life is looked upon as something of a god, and is spoken to and treated as such. It is for this reason that it is not allowed to touch the ground during the first months of its life: it must be carried, the same as the images of the gods. The

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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and without the help of a mirror. The hair is combed back with a fan-shaped comb, the end rolled into a bundle (pusung) that protrudes to the left and is held in place tucked under strands of the woman's own hair. Unmarried girls leave a loose lock (*gondjer*) that hangs down the back or over one shoulder. Ordinarily the flowers are simply caught between the hairs, sometimes suspended in the *gondjer* or over the forehead, dangling from a single invisible hair.

Each type of head-dress receives a special name, from the simple flower arrangement worn at lesser feasts to the *gelung agung*, the diadem worn by noble brides. The *gelung agung* is an enormous crown of fresh flowers; sprays of jasmine, *sandat*, and *bunga gadung*, mixed with flowers of beaten gold mounted on springs that quiver at the slightest motion of the head. A beautiful forehead that describes a high arch coming down at the temples is obtained by painting it with a mixture of soot and oil. Little acacia blossoms or yellow flower petals are carefully pasted in a row in the blackened area to emphasize the outline of the brow. They are called *trangana*, meaning a "constellation." Girls who have reached puberty cut two locks of hair, brought from the middle of the head, over the ears in two curls (*semí*), stiffened with wax to keep them in place.

Men do not wear any ornaments except flowers and perhaps a bracelet of *akar bahar*, a black sort of coral supposed to prevent rheumatism, but women love jewellery and it is extraordinary that outside of dancers or children the Balinese are one of the rare people in the world that do not wear necklaces. In ancient times men and women wore ear-rings, and ancient statues show that, like the Dyaks of Borneo, they distended their ear-lobes until they hung below the shoulders, weighted down by heavy gold ornaments. Today some men have pierced ears because when children they wore leaf-shaped ear-ornaments (*rumbing*) of gold set with precious stones.

Little girls distend the holes of their ear-lobes with rolls of dry leaf or with a nutmeg seed until the hole is large enough to

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301 [304] receive the large rolls of *lontar* leaf for everyday or their replicas of gold (*subang*) for feasts. The *subangs* are hollow conical cylinders of beaten gold three inches long by one in diameter, closed at one end, imitating in shape the palm-leaf *subang*. Only girls wear them and after marriage they consider the wearing of *subangs* a coquetry that is out of place, although married women of high caste may wear them at feasts. Rings of gold set with rubies are popular, but the most fashionable today are those set with an English gold guinea. Bracelets are in good taste only if made of gold and tortoise-shell set with rubies, star sapphires, or little diamonds.

515 The Balinese are as fastidious in the care of their bodies as they are about dress, and people of all classes, conditions permitting, make almost a cult of cleanliness. They bathe frequently during the day, whenever they feel hot or after strenuous work, but two baths a day are the rule, in the morning and evening, before each meal.

368 Many villages have formal baths with separate compartments for men and women, divided by carved stone walls and provided with water-spouts in the shape of fantastic animals, or simple natural pools or streams fitted with bamboo pipes and low walls.

515 Often the favourite bathing-place is a shallow spot in the river where men on one side, women on the other, squat on the water, remaining for a long time in animated conversation, scrubbing themselves with pumice stone that removes superfluous hair and invigorates the skin, or rubbing their backs with a rough stick or against a large stone placed there for the purpose. In a river near Gianyar we often saw a group of women sitting in the water in a circle, their feet radiating from the centre, gossiping until after dark.

515 576 There are strict rules of etiquette for bathing-places; for example, sexual parts should be concealed even among persons of the same sex. A man simply covers himself with one hand not to offend his fellow bathers. It would be unthinkable for a man to

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In olden times men wore the hair long, but nowadays the younger generation cuts it short like Europeans. The women's hair should be long, thick, and glossy, heavily anointed with perfumed coconut oil in which flowers are macerated. The hair is kept in condition by washing it in concoctions of herbs. 302

When a Balinese has nothing to do he squats on the ground and pulls hairs from his face with two coins or with special tweezers, and women remove the hair under the armpits with porous volcanic stones. Some men wear moustaches, which are considered elegant, but only priests wear beards. It is a sign of distinction to wear the fingernails long, often four inches or more, showing that the wearer does not have to do manual work. Priests may wear the nails of both hands long, but the average well-to-do Balinese lets them grow only on the left hand. In Tenganan I have seen young girls wearing nail-protectors five inches long made of solid gold.

The teeth are ceremoniously filed at puberty to shorten them and make them even. Old-fashioned Balinese blacken them with a sort of lacquer that supposedly protects the teeth from the devastating effects of betel-nut. However, since betel-chewing is losing favour, young people keep their teeth white by polishing them with ashes, although in many cases the molars are blackened, and the front teeth left white. The custom of filing and blackening the teeth, which is widespread throughout Malaysia, has its roots in animistic ritual, to avoid having the long, white teeth of dogs. In Bali today the teeth are filed mainly for æsthetic reasons, since long teeth are ugly. 302 304 [171]

It is plain that the refined and sensitive Balinese make the most of their daily routine, leading a harmonious and exciting, although simple existence, making an art of the elemental necessities of daily life — dress, food, and shelter. 512

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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people to have children like them was an affront to their superiority. Jane Belo points also to an endless variety of concepts relating to twins in Bali, differing from district to district and even from one village to the next — a typical attitude in regard to everything in Bali, with the general trend as described above. However, the birth of twins of the same sex (*kembar*) does not bring pollution to the village and passes as an ordinary happening, although again, as in everything else, there are exceptions to the rule.

THE LIFE OF CHILDREN

Forty-two days after birth, when the child is blessed by the priest, he is given anklets and bracelets of brass and silver in place of the black strings that he wore tied around his wrists since he was seven days old. His ears are pierced, and a thread is passed through each hole so that three months later he can wear little flower-shaped ear-rings of gold. Around his neck is tied a necklace composed of various amulets that will protect him and influence his growth: a silver tube containing a dried piece of the child's own umbilical cord, some coloured glass beads, a piece of black coral (*akar bahar*), an ancient coin, and a tiger's tooth or a piece of tiger bone. This is all the child wears until he is about seven years old, but little girls are given a skirt and a sash three or four years before. The repugnance of the Balinese for actions characteristic of animals causes them not to permit children to crawl on all fours, and before the child is three months old he may not even touch the earth and is carried everywhere.

Offerings are made when the child is three months old (*nelu-bulanin*) and again at his first anniversary (*otonan*) when the child is 210 days old, one Balinese year. Then he is dressed in rich brocades and is given gold bracelets, anklets, a necklace set with rubies and sapphires, and a gold disk with a ruby in it, which is pasted on the child's forehead. His hair is then cut (*ngutangin bok*), and his head is shaved clean except for a lock of hair on the forehead that is never cut; otherwise he would become ill.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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The custom of filing the teeth has a deep significance among primitive peoples, usually as a form of initiation ceremonies at puberty. Others tattoo or scar their bodies, and even Westerners, who are horrified at the absurd customs of savages, practise initiation tortures in the form of sabre duels, beatings, featherings, or simply breaking their noses at college football games.

The Balinese file their teeth when a boy or a girl comes of age; not in sharp points like some Africans, or down to the gums like the Sumatrans and other Indonesians; but they simply file off a small portion of the upper incisors and upper canines to produce an even line of short teeth, also wearing them down to smooth their outer surface. Undoubtedly the custom of filing the teeth (*mesangí, mepandés*) had its origin in initiation rites. As we have seen, the teeth are not only filed to make them beautiful, but also blackened, and it is possible that, like the custom of cutting the rice stalks at harvesting-time with a small blade carefully hidden in the palm of the hand, the filing and blackening of the teeth may in some way be connected with the fear of offending, or hurting, the rice soul. Today, as I have said, young people are giving up chewing betel-nut, and the custom of blackening the teeth is disappearing. It is mostly elderly people who display black caverns for mouths, oozing with blood-red betel juice.

The filing should be performed preferably at puberty, but the ceremony is expensive because of fees, guests, banquet, offerings and so forth, and usually only the well-to-do can afford it then. Although it is not longer regarded as essential, many people have their teeth filed later in life if they were not filed during youth. It is believed that a person may be denied entrance into the spirit world if his teeth are not filed, and often the teeth of a corpse are filed before cremation so that he will not look like a demon, a *raksasa*, the long canines of whom stick out through the cheeks like a wild boar's.

The filing takes place on an auspicious day after the person is blessed by a *pedanda*. The boy or girl may not go out of the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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304 house the day before and Van Eck tells of a Brahmanic rule that
881 demands that the person remain in the dark for three days. The operation is performed by a specialist, generally a Brahmana, who knows formulas by which his tools — files and whetstones — are blessed "to take the poison out of them," to make the operation painless. The patient is laid on a *balé* among offerings, the head resting on a pillow which is covered with a protective scarf, *gringsing wayang wangsul*, one of the magic cloths woven in Tenganan, the warp of which is left uncut. The body is wrapped in new white cloth and assistants hold down the victim by the hands and feet. The tooth-filer stands at the head of the *balé* and inscribes magic syllables (*aksara*) on the teeth about to be filed with a ruby set in a gold ring. The filing then proceeds, taking from fifteen minutes to a half-hour, endured stoically with
[147] clenched hands and goose-flesh, but without even a noise from the patient, who is given a rest from time to time, so that with the help of a mirror he can see the results. Often he makes suggestions and even complains when the teeth are not yet short enough.

During these pauses the patient spits the filings into a small "yellow" coconut adorned with a palm-leaf fan and flowers. When the filing is over, the boy or girl, paler than usual, but apparently not suffering pain, takes the coconut with the filings over to the family temple, where it is buried just behind the ancestral shrine. We questioned a girl who had just come out of the trying experience about her sensations and she assured us that she felt "shivers," but no pain; she seemed happier and smiled more freely than before.

184 Among the puritanical Bali Agas of the mountains, adolescent
882 boys (*truna*) and girls (*daha*) are considered pure people not yet contaminated by sexual intercourse. In those ancient villages
836 the inhabitants are divided into four separate clubs: of men, of women, and of "virgin" boys (*seka truna*) and girls (*seka daha*), whose purity is jealously preserved, since they have special rites to

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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585 appear rich and extravagant, there is considerably greater ceremony than at the weddings of the common people. Often formal [202] invitations written on palm-leaves are sent to near relatives, in which is stated the nature of the wedding present that they should bring along – the one I saw asked for four ducks – thus keeping the present tactfully within the means of the donor and avoiding repetitions. In this manner the relatives co-operate in meeting the expenses, for among such families there are always innumerable guests of rank to be lavishly entertained with banquet food and theatricals. Early in the morning the house of our aristocratic friend in Pemetjutan began to fill with impressive noblemen dressed in their best and wearing jewelled krisses, who arrived with retinues of women and attendants bearing presents.

● [304] The teeth of the bride and groom had not yet been filed and the greater part of the morning was spent in the hair-raising task, while the *wayang* music played in a corner of the crowded courtyard, mingling with the crashing of the cymbals and gongs of the orchestra that played out on the street. The male guests sat in the places of honour drinking coffee, eating pastry, and chewing [538] betel-nut, listening casually to two professional story-tellers that sat in the middle of the court reciting the erotic passages of the great literary classic, the *Ardjuna Wiwaha*, also a rule at weddings, one man chanting verses in musical *kawi* language, while the other translated with rich and expressive tones into guttural everyday Balinese. The women wandered about among offerings and presents, in and out of the *metén* where the bride was being dressed, while the boy's father played host, seeing that everybody was taken care of, and directing the assistants who distributed trays of food and poured drinks.

After the teeth-filing was over, the bride and groom simulated domestic activities: she washed a handful of rice and cooked it in a clay pot over a small fire; the groom cut a branch of *twí*, the sort of acacia leaves used as a vegetable, which they cooked together in another pot. Next they were led to a platform erected in the courtyard, a bed with mattress and pillows in which was

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

formed by these 34 components is bound together with new strips of palm leaf after the

35 *tatakan* pedestal has been attached.

These additional strips of palm leaf represent items of apparel and are designated as

36 *kambĕn bĕtĕn* undergarment
37 *kambĕn di awak* outer garment (not shown in the illustration)
38 *sabuk* waistband, plaited in a simple pattern (not shown in the illustration)
39 *chĕrik* breast covering, cut out of leaf and sometimes duplicated.

The fashioning of the clothing allows full scope for the imagination of the offering maker who will sometimes encircle the *lis* with a leaf from which a hole is cut out, named

40 *jit* (bottom).

It is obvious that the *lis* is regarded as a deity or as the seat of a deity from the fact that, after binding all the components together and after arranging the 'hair' and finally tying a strip of leaf around the entire figure, the offering maker cuts out

41 *sasab* face, a *chili*-shaped offering* (not shown in the illustration).
42 *dingding* ? together with
43 *payung* parasol,
which are 'stitched' on to the top of the *lis*, and then goes on to weave
44 *balé gading* a white or gold-coloured pavilion — for as a deity the *lis* must have a fitting residence — which is also called *timpal lis*, companion of the *lis*.

The *balé gading* is encountered in numerous Balinese rituals. At a teeth-filing ceremony it is placed on the platform where the operation is carried out. The youths and girls whose teeth are to be filed first make a *sĕmbah* before the *balé gading* — for 'Kumara and Kumari and the *widiadaris*' as it was explained to me.

During the celebration of the *galungan* festival, the *pènyor*, the decorated bamboo poles erected on such occasions, have at the top a *balé gading* from which hangs a *lamak*, a woven panel. The *pènyor* is the standard symbol for Gunung Agung, Great Mountain, and is usually decorated with rice ears and a coconut. The *lamak* is invariably embellished with a *chili* design, the symbol of the Rice Goddess, and often with patterns based on a mountain motif. I consider the *lamak* to be a female symbol constituting a counterpart to the *pènyor* as the male symbol. Together the

* Miguel Covarrubias, *Island of Bali*, Alfred Knopf, New York, 1937, repeatedly reprinted.

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

*783 7878 stalks) for washing the hair; and *kĕmbang*, flowers for personal adornment. The *lis* is then ready to fulfil its important ceremonial function [13].

The Ceremony of Sprinkling Holy Water

*783 7888 The ceremony of *malis* and the reciting of the *mantra lis* constitute part of the ritual performed by the *pamangku*, the *sulra* priest of the village or temple. However, I have also observed both Siwaite and Buddhist Brahman priests revering the *lis* and reciting the *mantra lis* after performing the ceremonial preparation of holy water.

At the commencement of the ceremony the *lis* is placed not directly in front of the priest together with the bell, incense bowl, and other paraphernalia, but a little to the rear of where he is seated. As soon as the gods are considered to be present and to grant holy water, at a signal from the priest the offering maker cuts the strips of leaf with which the *lis* is held in a doubled-up position. Then she snips off a tuft of the mass of *busung* strips forming the top; and after this ritual hair cutting she cuts open the *tipats* which contain symbolically food for the living being the *lis* has now become. The tuft of 'hair' is placed in the body of the *lis*, sometimes in the *tipat tulud* (33).

These preparations completed, the *lis* is handed to the priest who places it upright directly in front of him and recites the *mantra* while sprinkling it with holy water.

Next, a group of women assistants perform the ritual of purifying the temple from all forces of evil so that the priest can then present the offerings to the gods. The *lis* is first waved in the direction of the throne of the sun and then, in turn, toward the thrones of the other deities. Following this, the already mentioned ceremony of strewing *isuh isuh* is performed, the women proceeding around the three courtyards of the temple and coming finally to the outer entrance, there repeating the strewing of *isuh-isuh* in the direction in which the entrance faces.

[304 554] On several occasions I saw the ritual of *malis* also performed at household ceremonies, such as those in connection with teeth-filing and at the celebration of the *nĕlu bulanin*, the festivity held when a child is three months old.

[13] Swellengrebel, op. cit., lists certain components of the *lis* which were included in the *lis* used at the consecration of the Prince of Gianyar in 1903, but which he did not see on any other occasion. These particular components were similarly not included in the *lis* which I saw. There is every reason to assume that these components would be made only for the consecration of a prince, particularly as the *tahapi* (lake) figures amongst them, for the ritual bath takes place in a *tahapi*. Cf. J. H. Hooykaas van Leeuwen Boomkamp 'Upon a White Stone under a Nyamoni Tree', Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-India, CXIII, 4, 1957, pp. 324-340.

[649]

2: Wilken--278 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

New Guinea	OJ1	Savu	OF15	Malays	AN5
Borneo	OC1	Alor	OF5	Javanese	OE5
Mentawi	OD9	Flores	OF9	Lesser Sundas	OF1
		Timor	OF 20	Bali	OF7
		Java	OE1	Roti	OF14
		Redjang-Lampong	OD9	Sumba	OF17

[235 cont.]

I 304 In most instances, as far as the front surface of the teeth is concerned, the treatment of the surface is limited to grinding it down until the enamel is removed, sometimes for no other purpose than to facilitate the blackening of the teeth.

MI JS 304 413 Besides the methods named above, there is another, whereby the teeth are ground so as to be pointed or triangular until they look like a saw.

The tools for tooth-filing, at least among the Javanese and the Malays, are generally a little saw, a little chisel, a file, a little hammer, and a piece of stone, sometimes only the last. With the first, the teeth are shaped as desired, and the rough edges are ground flat with the stone. If only the latter is used, then the whole operation is completed with it.

T F A LS Bi R Sm SV 304 We want to discuss this subject in some detail.

Filing the teeth is quite common among the inhabitants of the Lesser Sunda Islands, for example, on Bali, Roti, Sumba, Savu, the Solor Islands, the southern part of central Flores, and Timor. Sometimes it is a matter of filing the teeth even, but then again, as on Savu and Sumba, the teeth are filed down to the gum.

J 304 Filing the teeth to a point, with or without treatment of the front surface, is found primarily in a few residencies of Java and here and there among various tribes, although it is not as common as filing the teeth even. On Java, filing the teeth to a point involves making the lower edge of the teeth pointed, while the front surface is treated in such a manner that the enamel is only partly removed, producing a relief that is called widji-timun = cucumber pip.

Mt RI MI Br I NG 304 The simple filing to a point, that is, filing the teeth down to a triangular point, is more common. It is found among the Oetanata on the southwest coast [236] of New Guinea, among some Negrito tribes, some Malayan peoples of the Philippines, fairly generally among the Dajak tribes of Sarawak, among the Malays of the region XII Kota, the Redjang of Lebong on Sumatra, and among the Mentawei Islanders.

[240 cont.]
Bt 304 as well (3).

3. Hagen, Zeitschrift f. Ethnol. Vol. XVI, pp. 221 f. Van der Tuuk, Bat. Wdb., see toba.

E N Bl G 304 [241] Among the inhabitants of the island of Nias the ear lobes often hang down to the shoulders (1), which also occurs

1. Van Rosenberg, "Verslag omtrent het eiland Nias," Verh. Bat. Gen. v. K. en W., Vol. XXX, p. 30.

among the Engganese. The same, but to a much lesser degree, holds for the Balinese (2) and for the Alfoer of the Minahasa, at

2. Bloemen Waanders, Tydschr. v. Ind. T.L. en Vk., Vol. VIII, p. 243. Catalogus Tent., p. 50.

least insofar as they have not yet embraced Christianity and some of the aged. Pigafetta recorded the same custom in the Philippines P 304 in former times (1522 A.D.) and discusses it in detail in his description of Magellan's journey (3).

3. Waitz, Anthropologie, Vol. VI, p. 27.

NG 304 Among the Papuans, too, the holes in the ears are sometimes so large that one can stick one or two fingers in them (4).

4. Van Rosenberg, der Malayische Archipel, p. 475. Nieuw Guinea in 1858, p. 172.